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ABSTRACT

Extension services to women in rural Botswana, particularly emphasized since the women's extension program began in 1975, must take into account constraints faced by female farmers, as past development processes have concentrated on male perceptions of concern (the beef industry, modernizing the economy). In Botswana, agriculture has traditionally been the responsibility of women (with men doing the plowing and planting), while men are concerned with the livestock which are wealth/status symbols. Female-headed households, many having inadequate draft animals or labor to do agricultural tasks, are increasing due to lack of income opportunities in rural areas and consequent male out-migration. Since creation of the post of Agricultural Officer/Women's Extension in 1975, efforts have been made to include women in extension services, such as membership on farmers' committees and participation in talks/courses on agricultural topics. Recommendations for the future include expanding the Women's Extension Unit, examining performance of female officers in Agricultural Field Services, making more Agricultural Demonstrators aware of the role women play in rural development, developing projects relevant to women's needs (beekeeping, vegetable gardening, poultry keeping, rabbit keeping, sorghum milling), evaluating/developing women's courses at the Rural Training Center, and increasing liaison with other ministries, non-governmental agencies, and organizations. (MH)

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Women's Access to Agricultural Extension Services in Botswana

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Women's Access to Agricultural Extension Services in Botswana

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WOMENS ACCESS TO AGRICULTURAL EXTENSION SERVICES IN BOTSWANA

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Women's Access to Agricultural Extension Services in Botswana

Synopsis

This paper presents an analysis of women's extension work in Botswana, relating it to the wider context of women's role in African agriculture generally. It is in three parts.

Part 1 is an overview of agriculture in Botswana, with empahsis on the particular constraints faced by female farmers.

Part 2 outlines the historical developments of the women's extension programme from its initiation in 1975 to the present time.

Part 3 is concerned with the future of Batswana women in agriculture and affirms their right to a viable and remunerative livelihood in farming. As a pragmatic necessity, there is little alternative for them. In humanist terms, development is for all the people, not just the male half of the population and a few highly educated women. Concrete proposals are needed to strengthen women's weakened status, as past development processes have concentrated on male perception of concern, i.e. the beef industry, the modern sector of the economy. The subsistence sector, largely a female province, has been too long ignored, by economists and planners unable to quantify the contribution of women's crucial though unrecognised role.

1. Agriculture in Botswana

1.1 General description

In Botswana crops are mainly grown for food while livestock is the wealth and status symbol which provides money for cash requirements. Until 1978 agriculture was the main contributor to the Gross Domestic Product, however by 1979 mining contributed 32% as opposed to agriculture's 13%. It is estimated that by 1984/85 the gap will have widened further, mining contributing 41% and agriculture only 11% (National Development Plan V). Extensive ranching is the only major agricultural activity in which Botswana is internationally competitive. The national herd is estimated to be between 2.8 - 4.1 million, giving a higher ratio of cattle to humans than in any other country. Though many people are to some extent dependent on cattle as a source of livelihood, few people depend on them directly for a large part of their income. The cattle are very unevenly distributed: 5% of rural households own half whilst 45% have none (Rural Income Distribution Survey, 1975).

The vagaries of the soils and climate in Botswana are hardly conducive to arable agriculture as discussed by Fortmann (1980) who, quoting Vierich (1979), reports that during cycles of low rainfall years an arable drought can be expected every four years and once every five years during cycles of high rainfall. In addition, only 5% of the country's soils are suitable for arable farming.

1.2 Sexual division of labour

Traditionally food production was the responsibility of the women while the men and boys spent most of their time at the cattle posts herding the livestock. The situation today does not seem to have changed greatly although distinctions are less rigidly drawn than in the past (Solway, 1978). Considering the division of labour between men and women Bond (1974) commented that land clearing and ploughing are predominantly male jobs, also that men are more involved in planting than women. However, the women were then the ones mainly involved in the remaining operations (see Table 1). In addition, she noted that responsibility for making sure that the various tasks were done was to some extent correlated with the main person performing the operation.

Based on data from the Activities Survey,[1] Kerven (1979 a) states that the males peak agricultural time is December while for women it is March, thus reflecting the sexual division of labour for different tasks. Thus males spend more time on ploughing in December while weeding, the most time consuming operation for women, is done in March. One of the more surprising results from the survey was that males and females spend almost the same amount of their total time on cropwork, which may indicate changing patterns, possibly related to changes in farming techniques.

An interesting topic discussed by Kerven (1979 a) concerns cultural prescriptions for women's involvement in agriculture on which there is unfortunately a current lack of data in Botswana. However she suggests that while the community may prefer that women do not participate in certain tasks, there is no evidence to suggest that community pressure is exerted on women to prevent them from participating in these areas; though where women perform some 'men's tasks', particularly herding cattle, there is a significant cost in terms of the reduced efficiency and danger to women.

1.3 Female headed households

Fortmann summarises some of the research findings on women in agriculture in the eastern communal areas of Botswana. She points out that the variation in percentage of female headed households of 20 - 43% may arise from differences in male migration and/or definitional problems. Women whose husbands work away for most of the year are de facto heads of households not de jure and as such in some cases may not have been included (1980, Table 1). This assumes that there is a clearly definable head of household who can either be a man or woman (Kerven, 1979 a).

Jiggins (1979) noted that the term 'female headed household' while appearing precise can be problematical in the African context owing

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[1] The Activities Survey was initiated by Professor Michael Lipton when he was the Employment Development Advisor in the Ministry of Finance and Development Planning.

Table 1

Time Spent by Men and Women on Different Activities

%		Men	Women
Crops	destumping	95.1	4.9
	land clearing	78.1	21.9
	ploughing	73.5	26.5
	planting	64.7	35.3
	weeding	12.9	87.1
	bird scaring	17.7	82.3
	harvesting	15.6	84.4
	threshing	10.9	89.1
	storage and selling	13.5	86.5
	transporting	36.3	63.7
Total crops		26.4	73.6
Livestock	herding	89.1	10.8
	veterinary operations	89.3	10.7
	moving cattle, buying/ selling	83.4	16.6
Total livestock		89.2	10.8
Household	domestic	29.6	70.4
	beer brewing and selling	3.0	96.9
	hunting and gathering	42.4	57.6
	house building	50.0	50.0
Total household		30.1	69.9
	Other work	45.2	54.8
	Other	47.2	52.8

Source: Bond, 1974.

to the difficulty of defining both the 'family' and the 'household'. She defines it as 'any household in which a woman because of marital dissolution, desertion, abandonment, absence of the spouse or male marginality are structurally placed in a situation where they are economically responsible for themselves and their children'.

However, Kerven (1979 a) points out that using the strict definition of de jure and de facto (no male head existing and male head sometimes present), approximately one quarter of all rural households are de jure female headed (Izzard 1979, Koussadji and Mueller 1979 from Rural Income Distribution Survey, Arable Lands Survey 1978), while 40 - 52% are de facto (Koussadji and Mueller op cit, Bond 1974).

Kerven (1979 a) states that the phenomenon of households headed by women is a direct result of two linked processes in Botswana's economy, namely the lack of income opportunities in the rural areas and the out migration from rural areas of adults. This phenomenon is seen all over Africa but is even more marked in Southern Africa where in addition to urban migration many men go to South Africa to work in the mines. A recent agricultural survey in Botswana revealed that 23% of rural households have at least one absent male at the mines in South Africa (Arable Lands Survey 1978) and the 1971 Population Census found 26% of males in the working age group were absent, most of them being in South Africa (C.S.O., 1972). There are similar indications from Swaziland where a study notes that 44% of the men were found to have migrated to South Africa (Nxumalo, 1979).

1.4 Productivity and constraints of female headed households in agriculture[1]

1.4.1 Land owned and used

Two recent studies have shown that female headed households have less land than male headed households. The Rural Income Distribution Survey (RIDS) data in Lucas (1979) show that female headed households owned on average one third less land than male headed households. Further data is shown in Table 2 below.

Table 2: Usage and Land Ownership

	male headed households	female headed households
a. owning more than 7 acres	71%	58%
b. planting more than 7 acres	56%	35%
c. proprotion of total land planted	61%	51%
d. not owning fields	15%	24%

Source: Arable Lands Survey, 1978; Brown, 1978

[1] See Kerven 1979 'Urban and Rural Female Headed Households' Dependence on Agriculture', Chapter 5.

Though the literature is unclear Lucas (1979) suggests that female headed households may be allocated less land to start with or secondly that their inability to plant as high a proportion of their land as male headed households may result in some land being confiscated from women.

1.4.2 Arable efficiency

Results from the RIDS have shown that female headed households produce less than half the value of crops on the land that they plough as the male headed households, though they are on average smaller than those for male headed households (Lucas, 1979). However, both RIDS and the Arable Lands Survey show that productivity between male and female households is almost equal though this is ignoring the costs of production. Female headed households have an average net profit of P7.91 per acre owing to greater expenditure on ploughing services compared to R11.57 per acre for male headed households. Total profitability for all acres planted therefore shows female headed households at P109.19, female headed households receiving less than one third of the returns from crop farming compared to male households (Lucas, 1979).

1.4.3 Access and ownership of arable inputs

a. Draught power

Access to draught power is often considered to be one of the major constraints to arable agriculture for female headed households; however, this is difficult to quantify as Kerven (1979a) points out that statistics on ownership of cattle are expressed in terms of 'ownership' or 'holdership' while these concepts can have very loose interpretation in Botswana society. For example, a woman may have claim to the use ofcattle which she does not own by virtue of her kinship ties. The Arable Lands Survey (1978) instead, using measure of access to draught power, found that 59% of female headed households had no access to draught power as opposed to 28% for male headed households. In addition only 29% had over seven oxen, and, as at least this number is needed for ploughing, effectively 71% or more female headed households do not have access to draught power. Similarly the FAO Constraints on Agriculture Study in 1975 showed that only one quarter of female headed households held cattle and of these, on average, herd size was usually below that considered sufficient to make up a team of oxen. However, different types of female headed households have varying access to draught power. For example young single female headed households are less likely to own cattle than widows or de facto female headed households who may hold their (ex) husband's cattle, in addition, widows are also more likely to have established claims on other relatives' cattle than are single women. For the households not having 'access to' draught power, one of the main constraints to their successful arable production is the inability to plough at the optimal time resulting from being second in line (Kerven, 1979 a).

b. Labour

Labour is often the second constraint to agricultural productivity in female headed households. The Arable Lands Survey (1978) found that female headed households have less labour at the lands during ploughing time than do male headed households and Lucas (1979) notes a clear relationship between the number of adults present in the

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household during the ploughing season and rising crop yields. However, the whole issue of labour is very complex.

A woman confronted with a labour shortage has two options open to her either she can:

--do all the work (arable and domestic) herself, albeit inadequately; or

--she can hire help.

Women certainly are capable of carrying out all agricultural tasks even those involving livestock (Solway, 1979; Fortmann, 1980). The author is well acquainted with one of the most productive farmers at the Integrated Farming Pilot Project[1] who is a woman. She inspans the oxen, carries out the ploughing and all other operations, assisted only by a young teenage son. However, if this strategy is adopted, as time is not an infinite resource, some operations must inevitably must suffer.

Instances could also be cited by the author when women have used some of their precious remittances to get the land ploughed and planted, but then have been unable to cope with the volume of work to be done at weeding time, resulting in poor crops.

This situation where Batswana women are expected to do agricultural and domestic work matches the dual role of women in the industrial societies of the world where many women perform non-economic work as housewives, and also economic activities in wage employment.

Since some women in Botswana now have to handle cattle in the absence of men, consideration of the need to teach women cattle handling and management techniques should be made, such knowledge is usually denied women both traditionally and by extension agents.

Problems with the second option, of hiring labour, can arise from poor quality labour. Working for a woman may be a last resort for some men and hence motivation to do a good job may not be very high. Additionally some women may be unable to find money to pay for extra help.

c. Farming equipment

Female headed households have been shown to have less farming equipment than male headed households (RIDS and Arable Lands Survey 1978) and this acts as another constraint, though as with cattle, lack of 'ownership' may not equate to lack of access.

From the foregoing discussion it is apparent that most female headed households experience greater difficulties than male headed households in carrying out agriculture successfully and are therefore less able to rely on agriculture as a result. However, Kerven (1979 a) stresses the point that female headed households are a heterogenous

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[1] See paragraph 2.3.2.

group and as such are not uniformly disadvantaged.[1] This must be kept in mind. For example, a woman who receives regular remittances, holds cattle and has household labour maybe in a similar if not better position than many men. However, a widow who is unable to farm her own land for any of the reasons given above and must instead work as a labourer on someone's fields receiving part of the harvest in payment (this system is called majako) is in a very different position. Fortmann (1980) states that 'such women often having a minimum of assets are severely hurt when drought eliminates the opportunity for employment. These are probably the most vulnerable female headed households in agriculture.'

The heterogenity of female headed households is not peculiar to Botswana or Africa. In Britain and America the single parent families are overwhelmingly women headed, however their socio-economic circumstances vary greatly.

[1] See Kerven, C. 1979 a, for further discussion and a typology of female headed households in Botswana.

2. Agricultural Extension in Botswana in the 1970s

2.1 Changes within the Agricultural Extension Services[1]

Prior to 1975 the Ministry of Agriculture was organised into ten different Divisions each responding directly to the Permanent and Deputy Permanent Secretaries. However, this system caused some problems of confusion and poor coordination. Consequently following suggestions made by a team of Extension Advisors, the Ministry of Agriculture was reorganised into three departments namely Veterinary, Agricultural Research and Agricultural Field Services. The latter was subdivided into the Divisions of Crop Production, Animal Production, Land Utilisation, Extension, plus Agricultural Information, Farmer Training, 4-B (rural youth clubs) and Women's Extension sections. The grass roots level personnel, the Agricultural Demonstrators (ADs) then became responsible for all aspects of extension within the specific area, calling upon specialist advice from the region if and when necessary.

The basis for extension work into the early 1970s was the 'Pupil Farmer' and 'Pupil Stockman' schemes when each AD had up to 25 farmers in his/her area who s/he tried to help progress from 'pupil' through the 'progressive' and 'improved' stages to 'master farmer'. Though participating farmers were successful only 7% of all farmers were reached and as ADs were spending as much as 90% of their time with this group, the other sectors were badly neglected. In addition, the scheme did not have the desired multiplier effect and the pupil farmers merely became an elitist group. As a result it was decided to change the system with the AD becoming responsible for all farmers in the area. As an adjunct to this, the main agricultural parts of the country were divided up more rationally into approximately two hundred extension areas, each area having from 250 - 300 farmers. Within an area the AD was not supposed to need to travel more than fifteen kilometres to the most distant farmer. This has not always been the case especially where shortage of ADs has meant that one person is expected to cover two areas. In an attempt to achieve the new objectives, a 'Management by Objectives'[2] system was developed using farmer record cards, daily activity sheets, one and three monthly work plans, one and three monthly management meetings, monthly reporting and an annual planning exercise.

2.2 Creation of the post of Agricultural Officer/Women's Extension AO/WE

As a member of the Agricultural Extension Advisors team, Bond wrote 'Women's Involvement in Agriculture in Botswana' (1974). This was the first major initiative in this field within Botswana. 'In view of the important role of women both in controlling and carrying out much of the crop production and also the little contact they have at present with the extension services, there would appear to be an obvious need for some agricultural extension to be directed at women. However, agricultural production, particularly subsistence food production is not an isolated part of a woman's life but is strongly

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[1] See Kingshotte, A, 1978.

[2] See Mali, P, 1975.

related to her family and domestic responsibilities. For example, while time is being spent on domestic chores, crop work cannot take place, also nutritional improvement should be linked with food growing. Consequently an integrated package of extension advice covering all aspects of their life should be available to women.' [1] She went on to suggest two ways in which this could be achieved:

-by improving, coordinating and using existing services; or

-by introducing a new service specifically directed to women.

The Ministry decided to adopt the first strategy since it was felt that initiating another cadre of extension workers would only serve to cause more confusion and overlap of work. In view of this decision the Ministry further decided to create a post of Agricultural Officer/Women's Extension at headquarters level and appointed Bond to fill the post. The terms of reference for the job were:

-development of programmes and strategies of particular value to women and training the field staff in their use;

-development of agricultural courses for women at the Rural Training Centres;

-liason with other ministries and non-governmental organisations concerned with women in the rural areas in order to provide an agricultural input and coordination of activities.

2.3 Activities of the Agricultural Officer/Women's Extension

2.3.1 Pilot work

Initially the AO/WE worked with ADs in one district developing a strategy which would form an integral part of general extension. Bond (1977 a) noted that this consisted of five components which could be phased into the ADs work programme. Valuable tools towards this end being the Farmer Record Cards and the Annual Plans. The five components are as follows:

General Extension Work: Making the community aware of the need to involve women through using kgotla meetings (place where village leaders and villagers discuss topical issues); involving women in all extension activities, i.e., meetings, demonstrations, courses, individual visits and liaison with the health and community development workers.

Farmers Committees: Encouraging the committees to elect at least two women onto the committee.

Women's Groups: Working with any already existing groups, i.e. the Botswana Council of Women, YWCA, Red Cross, etc. For example, vegetable gardening, liaising with health and community development workers.

Informal Groups: For example, at the clinics cooperating with the health workers and combining talks on health and agriculture.

Women's Courses: In conjunction with the other extension workers, encouraging women to attend courses at the Rural Training Centres, both those on general agricultural topics and others especially designed for women.

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[1] Bond 1974

In July 1975 the concept of a Village Extension Team was discussed at a National Policy Committee meeting and agreed on in principle. As an approach this was then piloted by the AO/WE in the same district as a means by which comprehensive extension to women might be organised utilising existing services. An area including three villages was selected and extensive work was carried out with the community development officer, the two ADs, the health workers and village leaders. This culminated in a two day workshop in November 1975.

Though field work initially went very well a combination of unexpected factors unfortunately prevented further continuation. However the experience demonstrated the need for continuity and follow up as well as the support and understanding of senior district and regional staff if the strategy was to be undertaken by the ADs (Bond, 1975).

2.3.2 Integrated Farming Pilot Project (IFPP)

The new strategy for women's extension was further tested in a lands area of southern Botswana where Government had started an Integrated Farming Pilot Project. The objectives of IFPP (1977) are to test under farm conditions new technological systems of cultivation and livestock management as developed by the Department of Agricultural Research, in an attempt to increase productivity, using an integrated approach to agricultural development.

Initially in 1976 the project was introduced to the men in the community, while the women knew very little about it. However when the idea of involving the women was raised by the AO/WE in April 1976 at the Farmers Committee meeting, the proposal was accepted enthusiastically by the twenty members and it was decided to invite all women in the project area to the general meeting in May.

The response was greater than expected and over one hundred women attended. After this meeting groups were then formed on a sub-area or ward basis and the AO/WE visited each in turn explaining the project's aims. In response to requests from the women a course was held at one of the short centres, on cookery and knitting, topics considered to be of importance by the women. Since then these courses have been held regularly every year (eight per year) on agriculture and home economics topics.

Interest was also shown by the women in vegetable gardening so viable seed was sold at the project site, since none was available elsewhere, with the project staff providing technical advice.

Early in 1977 a female AD was posted to the area to assist with the pilot work. In October 1979 two women were elected to the Farmers Committee to be representatives of the women's groups and to act as disseminators of information.

Bond (1977 b) noted the uniqueness of the Integrated Farming Pilot Project in having a high level of inputs in terms of staff and resources and in having senior staff committed to the idea of involving women in all activities. She concluded that the very high levels of motivation in farmers and field staff were evidence that with support and guidance the integrated approach to women's extension could succeed.

2.3.3 National implementation

To implement women's extension on a national scale the AO/WE embarked on a campaign to inform field staff of progress in the two pilot areas. This was done through articles in 'Agrinews' (the agricultural field workers magazine), training of students at Botswana Agricultural College, in-service courses and through speaking at monthly management meetings around the country. A varied response from the field workers was noted. Most ADs admitted that women needed help but identified husbands/men as the barrier to reaching women and many also felt that women's groups were the clientele of the community development officers (Bond, 1977 a).

Since many ADs thought that women were the clientele of the community development officers, it would seem as if they were perceiving them in a domestic rather than an economic role and disregarding their agricultural activity. This correlates with the western myth that a woman's place is in the home, despite the fact that even in Britain for example, forty percent of all married women are employed, compared with ten percent in 1931 (Central Office of Information, 1975).

2.3.4 Women's courses

Courses were started at two of the Rural Training Centres combining agricultural and homecraft skills, however, difficulty was experienced in getting the ADs to enrol women. They felt that women wouldn't have the free time to attend and again expressed the opinion that it was the work of the community development officer. The AO/WE tried to resolve this by attending monthly management meetings and discussing the success of the courses with the IFPP women.

2.3.5 Liaison with other bodies

Much time was spent liaising with other ministries and organisations in an attempt to provide an agricultural input into their work and also to help coordinate activities. Some are mentioned below.

a. Village Home Affairs Leadership: assistance was given in the planning and preparation of materials for a pilot project to teach rural women homecraft skills. The project was initiated by the Adult Educator at Tutume College, but was later taken over by the Botswana Extension College and is still being run by the Home Economics Officer.

b. Women's Radio Programmes: the AO/WE, as a member of an inter-ministerial committee, contributed to the planning of the women's radio programmes. However, in October 1976 the new producer ceased to invite help from the committee and little attention has since been devoted to agriculture on the women's programme.

c. Family Planning: the AO/WE also participated on another inter-ministerial committee which was formed to assist the Ministry of Health in planning a Handbook on Family Planning for extension workers. This has been used extensively since 1977, but no evaluation has been made of its success.

d. Literacy Project: help was given in the preparation of material on vegetable gardening and bean production for the Botswana Extension College pilot literacy project. As a follow on from this an inter-ministerial literacy policy group is currently discussing the possibility of having a National Eradication of Illiteracy Campaign.

e. Liaison with the Ministry of Local Government and Lands

The AO/WE tried to work with this Ministry which holds the portfolio for home economics, however little progress was made.

2.3.6 Policy proposal

In 1977 the AO/WE wrote a policy proposal on agricultural extension for women outlining the role of women in agriculture and the work that had been accomplished to date (Bond 1977 c). She proposed that the work be continued and that a Women's Unit be set up consisting eventually of three Batswana: a mature woman in charge assisted by two agricultral diplomats. These recommendations were discussed at a Policy Committee meeting in May 1977 and the proposal was accepted that 'a Women's Extension Unit should be retained at the Department of Agricultural Field Services headquarters staffed by three Batswana, one senior technical officer and two diplomats'. It was further noted that the build up of staff should be phased over a couple of years.

The AO/WE left Botswana in August 1977.

Attempts were made to localise the job, but without success bearing out the general observations of Childers (1976) that 'for the first few crucial demonstration years, the number of men and women who will be willing and available to work in this new field (Women's Extension) in most countries will be small.' Predictably, one officer having held the post for a few months resigned and can hardly be blamed for not wanting the job which required working under onerous conditions. These included working alone in a male dominated service until additional staff could be recruited, with no transport, and being solely responsible for women's work in agriculture in a country larger than France.

Another more suitable candidate was identified but was rejected by the Government's personnel section on the grounds of inadequate academic qualifications. No allowance was made for the fact that her extensive experience might have more than compensated for her incomplete formal education. Nelson (1979) commented that: 'since women have suffered an educational disadvantage in the past, their paper qualifications are not an accurate assessment of their innate qualities and ability to learn.'

2.4 Continuation of the work between mid-1977 and mid-1979

Despite the absence of a AO/WE from 1977 to 1979 a small amount of progress was made although it would be difficult to quantify the 'effectivenss' of work carried out during this period in terms of practical advancements. It appears that some of the field staff had become marginally more aware of the need to involve women in their work as a result of efforts of the first AO/WE.

From a personal observation, it is apparent that a number of ADs do work regularly with women, though they tend to form the minority.

A very positive start was made in the work, but how much was lost by the fact that there was no continuation? Brown (1978) commented that: 'in order to assist female farmers the Government should not only push ahead with its arable policy but focus more efforts on the strong start made by Carol Bond in this direction. It is lamentable that the AO/WE programme has been allowed to lapse'. Work started at the Rural Training Centres and IFPP continued, but no significant progress was made.

In July 1979 after two years of efforts to find a local candidate had failed, the author, recruited from abroad, arrive in post.

3.1 The future of women in agriculture

Economically it may make no sense for women to stay in agriculture; the FAO Constraints on Agricultural Development in Botswana survey (1975) found that 91% of all households, infrequently or never produced enough food.

As a fundamental right women ought to remain in agriculture in Botswana, economic difficulties notwithstanding. It is part of their history and their tradition as the major food providers in the family unit. As Boserup (1970) notes, 'Africa is the region of female farming par excellence.' She quotes sources which indicate that in many areas women do more than half of the agricultural work; in some cases around 70% and in one case 80% of the total. From the available data she is able to say, '...even today village production in Africa south of the Sahari continues to be predominantly female farming.' She notes however that men are more active in the production of cash rather than food crops. Botswana is an illustration of these generalisations.

In one of the few historical case studies of women's role in agriculture Young (1977) notes the agricultural effectiveness and innovative practices of women in Mozambique. The advent of trading opportunities during the seventeenth century fundamentally altered the complementary relationship between men and women in sharing products resulting from an equal division of labour. The women assumed more responsibility for feeding the family and in this role were active in adopting new crops. These innovations permitted increased yields from each unit of labour thus enabling families to subsist primarily from the products of female cultivation.

It is important to see women in this historical context in planning for the future and in considering their present priorities. Many studies reveal that colonialism and the contemporary development process have actively handicapped the progress of women. For example, land reforms initiated by European middle class males with their limited perception of women's uneconomic roles in the metropole, often severely disadvantaged African women (Simons, 1968; Comhaire-Sylvain, 1950; Floyd 1959 et al)

Latterly as agriculture has become more mechanical and with a virtual monopoly on advice from the extension staff, men have moved increasingly into cash crop production leaving subsistence crop work for the women as noted above by Boserup. Thus in the course of agricultural development men's labour productivity has tended to increase while women's productivity has remained more or less static.

Another reason for helping women to stay in agriculture is that 'to disenfranchise them of their land, the one asset they do possess, would be to transform them from marginal producers to landless peasantry' (Fortmann, 1980). If they are forced out of agriculture their position can only become worse as they lose what independence they do have. There are no real alternatives.

Government initiative

The Government is aware that female headed households need assistance.[1] Its main initiative in the arable sector is the Arable

[1] National Development Plan V, 1979-85.

Lands Development Project (ALDEP), whose aims are to help the 60 - 70 000 subsistence farmers who plough less than ten hectares.

In an attempt to address the problem of draught power shortages ALDEP will be running pilot credit/subsidy schemes for the purchase of donkeys starting in 1980. Donkeys, already used in some parts of the country, are seen as a cheaper alternative to oxen as a source of draught power.

ALDEP may not succeed in helping marginal farmers unless augumented by concrete proposals pertinent to the particular needs of these households especially that of labour constraints. Kerven (1979 a) notes that, 'serious thought should also be given to the subsidisation of labour (in addition to subsidies on farming inputs such as fertilisers and draught power as offered by ALDEP) in households such as those headed by women, where the lack of labour may prevent any other progressive farming techniques being carried out'.

Another way to help 'asset poor' households to remain in agriculture is to encourage investigation of small income generating projects. Much work needs to be done in this important area and the new Rural Industries Programme should do much to help in this direction.

3.2 Planning the strategy

In February 1980 a 'Women in Development' committee was set up in Gaborone sanctioned by the Ministry of Agriculture consisting of representatives of Government, non-governmental organisations and private researchers. Its function will be to act as a steering committee for ALDEP; the AO/WE and private researchers keeping in mind the particular problems faced by women and helping to ensure equal access for men and women to Government services and programmes. Although still in its infancy the committee should be of great assistance to the AO/WE because of its broad based expertise. However, coordinating efforts at the top alone are not an answer in themselves. Many programmes have failed due to an inadequate understanding of the independent variables in development. Childers (1976) notes that planning must be based on consultation with the community, seeing its needs holistically. Attempts to encourage this approach are currently being undertaken in Botswana in the new Communal Area Planning and Development Programme, where full consultation with the people is strongly advocated.[1]

3.3 Ongoing work and future plans

Table 3 outlines ongoing work and future plans. These various issues are discussed below.

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[1] See Ministry of Agriculture and Ministry of Local Government and Lands Communal Area Planning and Development, March 1980.

3.3.1 Expansion of the Women's Extension Unit

In the light of all the foregoing discussion it can be seen that the volume of work to be done is enormous and in no way can be undertaken by one person. Expansion is vital. However finding suitable people in terms of the work to be done and the academic qualifications required by Government Personnel Department will be a problem though not an insurmountable one. Additionally actually securing posts in view of the current labour power ceilings may cause further difficulties. It is hoped that by 1981 it will be possible to have at least one assistant at headquarters and by 1981/82 to have an officer responsible for Women's Extension attached to each region. Suitable candidates for the latter mentioned posts might be ADs with field experience who could be given some sort of further training, possibly within the country.

3.3.2 Examination of performance of female officers in the Department of Agricultural Field Services

It is suggested that an evaluation of female staff already working within the Department of Agricultural Field Services is carried out to counter criticism made against them.

Table 4: Number of women field staff in the Department of Agricultural Field Services.

	total number	number of female officers
Agricultural Demonstrators	185	16
District Agricultural Officers	19	1
Regional Agricultural Officers	6	0

Botswana Agricultural College runs a two year certificate course in agriculture, training ADs. Since it started in 1966 only sixteen women have graduated out of a total of 390; 1973 was the first year that women were admitted. The sample from which to evaluate performance is therefore very small, especially when it is considered that six of the sixteen only started work in the beginning of 1980. Table 5 shows what has happened to the sixteen female ADs.

Table 5: Postings of female ADs

10	in extension areas (one attached to Dairy Unit)
1	Forestry headquarters
1	Division of Agricultural Information (headquarters)
1	Agricultural Research
1	working at a Short Course Centre
1	degree training
1	resigned
16	total number of female ADs who have graduated from Botswana Agricultural College

Only three women have received training at the diploma level. Of these, two were posted as District Agricultural Officers and one is still in this job after three years. The other after spending two years in the field, later joined the Action Research Unit within the

Table 3: Ongoing work and future plans

What	Why	How	Where	When
1. Expansion of Women's Extension Unit	impossible for one person to do the job alone (Botswana is larger than France!)	identifying--and training if necessary--suitable candidates	headquarters and at regional level	as soon a possible, currently discussio
2. Examination of performance of female officers in Agricultural Field Services	female officers have received much criticism therefore there is a need to assess their performance relative to their male counterparts to obtain information on which to base future policies for hiring female staff	with the assistance of the Action Research Unit within the Division of Agricultural Information/ Rural Sociology Unit or Institute of Development Management?	where female officers posted	planned f 1980
3. Making ADs more aware of the role women play in rural development	In an attempt to encourage them not to neglect women while executing their extension duties	holding seminars with students writing articles for the agriculture field workers' magazine, 'Agrinews'	Botswana Agricultural College and returning Swaziland diplomats	1980
4. Develop projects of relevance to the needs of women, i.e., beekeeping, vegetable gardening, poultry keeping, rabbit keeping, sorghum milling, etc	successful income generating projects could be undertaken by women and would provide a way of supplementing their income, -labour savings devices to reduce women's workload.	working closely with the A/D responsible for women's extension at IFPP assisting groups and individual farmers. Using funds allocated by ALDEP for pilot projects. Emphasis on the ALDEP donkey pilot project	IFPP all over the country	ongoing under dis with ALDE 1980
5. Evaluation and development of women's courses held at the Rural Training Centre	in order to measure 'success' and highlight areas for improvement	close liaison with centres staff, also perhaps outside assistance, i.e. Action Research Unit?	at the Rural Training Centres and Short course Centres	1980

6.	Further work on Appropriate Technology done at the Rural Training Centres	to improve the standard of living of the rural people	working with the Farming Training Officer, staff at the Rural Training Centre and other interested people	at the three rural training centres	1980?
7.	Liaison with other ministries, non-governmental agencies, parastatals, voluntary organisations, etc	in an attempt to foster a coordinated approach to development activities for women are not confined to the limits of only one Ministry	with assistance from the newly formed 'Women in Development' committee		ongoing
			addressing workshops, seminars, writing articles, etc.	anywhere	ongoing

Division of Agricultural Information. The third woman was posted to the Animal Production Division in the cattle marketing section and is now studying overseas for a degree.

The only woman with a degree to have worked in Agricultural Field Services was the officer previously mentioned who worked as the AO/WE for a couple of months before transferring to Agricultural Research.

Early in 1977 a brief evaluation of female staff within the extension service was undertaken where the women concerned, their senior staff and some farmers were interviewed.[1] Concerning the ability to carry out the job it was generally agreed that the women could do all the agricultural work in the jobs to which they were posted. Only one of the ADs said that extension was too hard for a woman. However, in two cases there were some problems with the ADs accomplishing the work. There were no complaints from senior staff about the performance of the two district agricultural officers and the officers themselves felt well able to do the job. Asked about the problems experienced in their work all the ADs complained about the difficulty of bicycling around the lands. The only problem mentioned by the district agricultural officers were ones which were intrinsically part of the job, such as the problems of getting the work done when the transport kept failing. The reaction of the male staff to working with women seems to have been favourable though not a great deal was said about this. The farming public also seemed quite satisfied with the female officers. This endorsed Bond's earlier findings when of those farmers who knew what the work of an AD entailed, 78% thought that women would be quite able to do the job. 90% of them also conceded that women know as much about farming as men (Bond 1974).

Of the six women holding field positions at the time of the survey only two were happy in their work, the remaining four had all applied to join specialist units. At this stage however, many questions need to be asked. How many male ADs are happy in their work? How many male ADs experience difficulties riding their bicycles in sandy areas and as a consequence tend to spend most of their time at home? How many male ADs apply for transfers to specialist units at headquarters?

No data is available quantifying comparative performance and attitudes to work of male and female ADs. The author has travelled around the country extensively meeting the regional and district staff. During these meetings many complaints were voiced about the performance of ADs generally. The author would suggest that the female ADs, by being highly visible as a deviation from the 'norm' have received more attention and consequently more criticism than their male counterparts, when it is likely that performance and attitudes between the two groups differs little.

Young women ADs leaving Botswana Agricultural College, are immediately disadvantaged relative to their male counterparts.

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[1] See Bond, 1977 d.

Moving out for the first time into their own extension areas in districts staffed entirely by men, must constitute a shock to the system with which all but the very toughest could cope. No male AD ever suffers this particular type of isolation. It is felt that special supervision of the ADs, both male, but especially female, is absolutely critical at this stage, otherwise precious resources in terms of time and money spent in educating these young people can easily be lost. This is a task that could be performed by the Regional Women's Extension Officer in regard to the women.

In an attempt to try and counteract the great shortage of ADs within the country Botswana Agricultural College has doubled its intake for the first time this year and out of a total of 60 for the agricultural course, approximately thirteen are expected to be women. If it was decided that the intake of women should be further increased, some difficulties might be faced finding suitable candidates. Most jobs are perceived to be very sex specific not only in Botswana but internationally.

Agriculture has particularly strong male connotations, especially as the level of mechanisation rises. However, if women are to be fully integrated into the development process and as a condition of this be involved in all levels of decision making, then it is essential that attitudes are changed and that women receive equal educational opportunities: 'integrating women into the total development effort first requires integrating them into all levels of policy making (both as framers of policy and focuses of policy decisions.') (Nelson 1979).

Currently in Botswana girls form a small majority of pupils in primary schools but are then overtaken by boys in secondary schools until the time when they get to university when the girls are outnumbered two to one by boys (Brown 1978 b). Brown further notes from her survey a marked difference in the aspirations of the girls and boys. The girls expressed the desire to become teachers, nurses, health and community development workers, etc--jobs not requiring Cambridge school certificates or a university degree thus reducing their incentive to continue their education past junior certificate. The boys had a far wider range of career goals. Many of the girls horizons were further narrowed by their exclusivist emphasis on being mothers, thus limiting themselves to one role as adults when they could be successful teachers, civil servants, doctors or whatever as well as mothers. As the girls may not be fully aware of the opportunities open to them it is essential that they receive careful guidance on topics related to careers but also to focus on wider issues while at school as advocated by Brown (1978 b).

Many girls are also being lost from the system owing to expulsion arising from pregnancy. The Government should seek to change its policy on this since not only are the girls hurt in their quest for a good education and a secure future but the Government also loses part of the educated labour force that it is seeking so desperately to develop.

An important part of Botswana Agricultural College's selection process involves the annual tour of all schools presenting junior certificate students, when careers in agriculture and courses at the College are discussed. This has been done since 1974 and care is taken to stress the difficulties of extension work. Mention is also made that it is a career open to women. It would be interesting to try and evaluate the effect of these talks to find ways in which they might be improved.

3.3.3 Creating an awareness amongst agricultural field services staff of the need to involve women fully in all extension work

It is envisaged that this could be done by holding seminars for students at Botswana Agricultural College and for returning diploma holders, in-service training, by writing articles for Agrinews and where possible attending monthly management meetings.

3.3.4 Developing small projects at IFPP

Great emphasis is being placed on the work of developing small income generating projects and if possible labour saving devices at IFPP. As was mentioned earlier 'asset poor' households need to be able to find ways of supplementing their agricultural activities. In attempt to support and develop this work ALDEP has recently agreed (Purcell, personal communication) to make a sum of P3 000 - P4 000 available for this pilot project work.

a. The most recent initiative is the beekeeping project, Didira Botshe, (honeymakers) which was started in February 1980 after considerable discussion with the women. A very simple system of beekeeping developed by a teacher working in the Central Kalahari has been adopted.[1] This system is based on the Tanzanian top bar hive, which has many advantages, particularly the low initial capital outlay and the low demands on labour. To date a great deal of interest has been shown in the project and it is hoped that it may be a successful way of providing some extra food and a small source of income for rural households.

b. Another popular activity amongst the women's groups is vegetable gardening. Currently seven groups are producing vegetables some of which are sold, while others are kept for home consumption.

Scarcity of water is often a major constraint to arable farming in Botswana since farmers are unable to stay at their lands during autumn and spring unless the small dams hold sufficient water for the needs of the family and any livestock that are around. In an attempt to resolve this problem, IFPP are experimenting with the use of underground catchment tanks which are filled by run-off from the threshing floors. As a result of this water shortage some clubs are unable to participate in vegetable growing, however, one group is currently digging an underground tank in the hope that they will be able to use the stored water next season.

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[1] See Clauss, B., 'Beekeeping Handbook', 1980.

Since many of the clubs have proved to be very interested in gardening it is envisaged that assistance may be given to help them erect permanent fences around their gardens, either using the ALDEP money or funds available from within the Ministry of Agriculture.

c. Another project which has been planned will involve teaching the women simple poultry management. Traditionally, the local breeds roam freely. Once this has been achieved improved breeds will be sold through the Ministry's poultry scheme.

d. Club members are still attending courses at the Rural Training Centres and if the idea of starting savings clubs, which is currently under discussion, is adopted, courses on topics such as bookkeeping may be held.

More ideas are needed but at least the work has been started. Rabbit keeping has recently been suggested so it will now be necessary to see if this idea is socially, culturally and economically acceptable. Much of the current enthusiasm amongst the women's groups can be directly attributed to the consciencious work of the new female AD. Apart from working with the groups,she is also responsible for individual extension work and special emphasis is to be placed on encouraging more active participation by women in the dry land farming techniques advocated by the project. She will also be responsible for the identification of households lacking draught power who could receive the ALDEP credit/subsidy for the purchase of donkeys.

3.3.5 Courses at the Rural Training Centres

These courses have now been running at two of the Rural Training Centres for four years and so an evaluation must be undertaken, especially since it is felt that some of the things being taught are somewhat inappropriate. Efforts must also be made to ensure that women's courses are started at the third rural training centre in the North of the country.

3.3.6 Appropriate Technology Units at the Rural Training Centres

With assistance from UNICEF, Appropriate Technology Workshops were held at all the Rural Training Centres during 1979. Participants who included local artisans, ADs and staff from the training centres were shown how to make a number of items such as cement water storage jars, mud ovens, maize shellers, etc. Since the beneficiaries of many of these items would be women the AO/WE is interested in working with the Farmer Training Officer at headquarters and the staff of the training centres in an attempt to disseminate the new information to farmers, by holding courses and by developing small demonstration units at the centre.

3.3.7 Liaison with other bodies

Mention has already been made of the new Women in Development Committee which has recently been formed and it is hoped that this can be the vehicle through which liaison with other bodies can be achieved. In addition to this the AO/WE will continue to address seminars, workshops, etc when reqqested in an attempt to inform other organisations of work being done and in order to promote the sharing of ideas.

4. Conclusion

Why should there be special consideration for women? Because:

> Development processes have been run for and by men. Women have remained marginal to these processes and in some instances have actually been disadvantaged by them. This is a tragic waste of resources. In the International Development strategy for the United Nations Development decade one of the goals and objectives of the decade is the full integration of women into the total development effort. Women's integration in development will benefit not only women but the whole society of men, women and children.
>
> Nelson, 1979

In the context of Botswana the first section examined the crucial role played by women in agriculture, yet it showed that they have received less extension contact than men and most are among the most disadvantaged groups within society. Hence special consideration for women is essential.

Women need not be 'grateful' for the discriminatory attention they receive now, as their peculiarly disadvantaged position today is a culmination of negative effects of the development process itself. The very fact that 'women in development' is a contemporary issue, that we are here at this workshop, the extensive literature and its current popularity as a theme, all serve to define development proper as male. When was there ever a special extension service for men; a conference entitled 'Men in Agricultural Production'. The norm is male. Roberts (1979) quoting Papanek notes that 'there is a curious ambiguity in the concept of integrating women in the development process which hampers the achievement of this goal from the start. For women are full participants in all the processes of social change.'

The visible effects of this social change on men and women are different and those concerning women have tended to become secondary. African women need to be functioning at political and technical decision making levels, with women's concerns central to these processes so that the talk of integrating women into development becomes a nonsense. Without women there is no development.

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